

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2841

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L BAGHDAD 0214

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, PFOR, APER, IZ

SUBJ: ORGANIZING FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REF: (A) STATE 029255, (B) STATE 303856, (C) STATE 013264

1. PRINCIPAL OFFICER MARSHALL W. WILEY, FSO-2, WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MILTILATERAL AFFAIRS AT USINT.

2. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ALTER ARAQI VOTING PATTERNS AT THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. PAST DECADE OF VIRULENT ANTI-US PROPAGANDA HAS HAD ITS EFFECT, PARTICULARLY ON THE YOUNGER GENERATION, AND REGIME NOW APPARENTLY VIEWS ANTI-US POSTURING AS A DOMESTIC POLITICAL IMPERATIVE. WE CAN PROBABLY OBTAIN BEST RESULTS BY A STRATEGY DESIGNED TO A) THREATEN IRAQ
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WITH SEPARATION FROM MORE MODERATE LDCS; B) ENCOURAGE IRAQ TO

STAND ON SIDE LINES MORE OFTEN ON ISSUES THAT ARE OF MORE CONCERN TO UNITED STATES THAN TO ARAB COUNTRIES; C) INTENSIFY OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OPEC COUNTRIES AND THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS AND THEREBY APPEAL TO IRAQ'S STRONG INTEREST IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; D) TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IRAQI RESENTMENTS OVER SOVIET HEAVYHANDEDNESS; AND E) EVOLVE OUR POSITION ON THE PALESTINIANS.

3. IN ORDER TO SEPARATE IRAQ FROM MORE MODERATE LDCS WE NEED TO PROVIDE LATTER WITH SOME VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO RADICAL LEADERSHIP. WE HAVE MADE GOOD START IN THIS DIRECTION BY OUR EMPHAIS ON COOPERATIVE ECONOMIC RELATIONS AT SPECIAL SESSION OF UNGA AND AT CIEC. WE COULD PERHAPS PLACE MORE EMPHAIS ON FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN ENERGY EXPORTING AND ENERGY IMPORTING LDCS.

4. ON ISSUES NOT OF DIRECT CONCERN TO ARAB WORLD, IRAQI BEHAVIOR IS MOTIVATED BY A) DESIRE TO PLAY MORE PROMINENT LEADERSHIP ROLE AMONG LDCS; B) DESIRE TO MAINTAIN UNITY WITHIN ARAB

BLOC; C) DESIRE TO DEVELOP TRADEOFFS WITH SOVIET BLOC IN RETURN FOR SOVIET BLOCK SUPPORT ON ISSUES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO IRAQ. MARXIST IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVATIONS ARE ALSO PRESENT BUT PLAY DISTINCTLY SECONDARY ROLE TO OTHER PERCEIVED NATIONAL INTERESTS.

5. MOST EFFECTIVE TRADEOFFS WE COULD OFFER ARE IN FIELDS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT. WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS IN THE FORMER AND THIS HAS BEEN NOTED BY GOI. (BAGHDAD 157 PARA 4). DEPENDING ON OUTCOME OF CURRENT CIEC DELIBERATIONS, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN SOME MODIFICATION IN IRAQI ANTI-US BEHAVIOR IN RETURN.

6. OUR MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK WITH IRAQ IS, OF COURSE, OUR DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. WITHOUT ALTERING OUR BASIS SUPPORT FOR A JEWISH STATE, SOME EVOLUTION OF OUR POLICY IN DIRECTION OF GREATER RECOGNITION AND UNDERSTANDING OF PALESTINIAN GRIEVANCES WOULD HELP IN REDUCING INTENSITY OF IRAQI ANTI-US FEELING. SAUNDERS DOCUMENT WAS VIEWED IN BAGHDAD AS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, BUT ADDITIONAL STEPS TOWARDS USG
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RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN CONCERNS WILL BE NEEDED TO MAINTAIN OUR CREDIBILITY. EXTENT OF OFFICIAL USG RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN GRIEVANCES IS, OF COURSE, CLOSELY LINKED TO OUR OVERALL NEGOTIATING STRATEGY ON AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT AND SHOULD PROPERLY BE DETERMINED IN THAT CONTEXT. IT IS TRUE, HOWEVER, THAT SLIGHT CHANGES IN THE COSMETICS (AS OPPOSED TO THE SUBSTANCE) OF OUR STANCE ON THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT WOULD BE ENOUGH TO REDUCE ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING IN IRAQ.

7. WHEN DEBATING ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, WE SHOULD ALSO TAKE CARE NOT TO MISJUDGE ARAB MOTIVES. THEY HAVE A PROFOUND SENSE OF HISTORIC INJUSTICE ON PALESTINE AND BITTERLY RESENT OUR ACCUSATIONS THAT THEY ARE EMPLOYING CHEAP POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY WHEN IN FACT THEY ARE EXPRESSING WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO BE HONESTLY HELD VIEWS. EVEN WHEN THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE ISSUES DIFFER SHARPLY FROM OURS, WE WOULD DO BETTER TO DISCUSS THESE DIFFERENCES ON THEIR MERITS WITHOUT ACCUSING THE ARABS OF OBSCENE AND INFAMOUS MOTIVES.

8. BELIEVE IT WOULD ALSO BE TACTICALLY WISE TO AVOID IMPLYING THAT BLOC VOTING PER SE IS CONTRARY TO INTERESTS OF SMALLER STATES. STATES POSSESSING LITTLE CAPABILITY TO INFLUENCE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS VIEW BLOC VOTING AS THE ONLY WAY TO MAKE THEIR WEIGHT FELT IN INTERNATIONAL CIRCLES AND EVEN THE MORE POWERFUL STATES FIND IT ADVANTAGEOUS TO CAUCUS WITH OTHER STATES SIMILARLY SITUATED TO ESTABLISH A COMMON FRONT. OUR PROBLEM IS NOT WITH BLOC VOTING AS SUCH, BUT WITH THE ANTI-AMERICAN POSITIONS DEVELOPED BY SO MANY OF THE BLOCS.

9. GIVEN CURRENT STATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH IRAQ, IT IS NOT EASY TO IDENTIFY SPECIFIC ISSUES WHICH MIGHT GIVE US LEVERAGE OVER IRAQI BEHAVIOR IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. THEIR MAIN INTEREST IS IN TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFERS FROM THE US, BUT OUR BARGAINING POSITION IS WEAKENED BY FACT THAT MOST OF THIS TECHNOLOGY COULD BE OBTAINED ON ROUGHLY SAME TERMS FROM EUROPE OR JAPAN. THREATS TO CUT OFF FLOW OF TECHNOLOGY WOULD BE CREDIBLE ONLY IF COORDINATED WITH OTHER TECHNOLOGY EXPORTING NATIONS. IRAQ ALSO IMPORTS FOOD, BUT THIS TOO GIVES US LITTLE LEVERAGE SINCE THEY HAVE THE CASH TO OUTBID OTHER HUNGRY NATIONS IN BUYING PAKISTAN'S RICE AND CANADIAN OR AUSTRALIAN WHEAT. IF SUCH THREATS BECAME PUBLIC, THEY WOULD BECOME DISTINCTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AS IRAQI LEADERSHIP WOULD THEN FEEL OBLIGATED TO TAKE EVEN MORE ANTI-AMERICAN LINE.

10. IN BRIEF, OUR BEST CHANCE TO ALTER IRAQI BEHAVIOR IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS LIES IN DEVELOPMENT OF POSITIVE INCENTIVES AS DESCRIBED ABOVE, RATHER THAN IN ATTEMPTING TO APPLY NEGATIVE SANCTIONS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. OTHER POSSIBLY USEFUL APPROACHES INCLUDE EXPLOITING IRAQI DESIRE FOR LEADERSHIP ROLE AMONG LDCS, EXPLOITING IRAQI INTEREST IN MAINTAINING COMMON FRONT WITH OTHER ARAB AND OPEC STATES, AND UTILIZING IRAQI UNEASINESS OVER ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THERE MAY BE OPPORTUNITIES FOR US TO CREATE SITUATIONS IN WHICH THESE IRAQI INTERESTS WILL LEAD THEM TO MODIFY THEIR ANTI-AMERICAN BEHAVIOR IN INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. USINT WILL ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY SUCH OPPORTUNITIES IN ITS FUTURE REPORTING.

WILEY

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